



Slavonic Cities IV: Moscow, 1147–1947

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SLAVONIC CITIES IV¹

MOSCOW, 1147-1947

Moscow celebrates this year the 800th anniversary of its first appearance in history, and the occasion may be used to review briefly its development from the centre of a tiny principality into the capital of a great world power.

A Muscovite of the 17th century, looking back over the first half of the story, wrote, "What man could have divined that Moscow would become a great realm?" The 20th-century observer can only echo his words, though with a wonder deepened by knowledge of events he could not foresee.

In 1147, according to the Russian chronicle, Prince Yury Dolgoruky of Suzdal invited his ally Svyatoslav of Chernigov to Moscow and entertained him there to "a mighty feast." There is no conclusive evidence that the Moscow of this reference was on the site of the later city. The earliest association of name and site comes in 1156, when Yury "founded the town of Moscow" by enclosing with wooden walls the wedge of high ground between the river Moskva and its tributary, the Neglinnaya, thus creating the first Kremlin. It is unlikely, however, that the site, with its topographical advantages and its favourable situation at the cross-roads of natural routes of communication, should not have been occupied before 1156. Arab coins of the 9th century, pointing to trade relations with the Bulgars on the middle Volga, have been found in and near the Kremlin. Long before the Slavs appeared the area round Moscow was inhabited by Finns, and the name Moskva is of Finnish origin. There is a tradition that Stepan Kuchka, one of Prince Yury's boyars, held villages in the neighbourhood. Possibly one of these, bearing the name Moscow, was the scene of the "mighty feast" of 1147.

A subsidiary principality arose round the "town" founded in 1156 and passed from one minor prince to another until, about 1283, it became the permanent possession of Daniel, son of Grand Prince Alexander Nevsky, the first of a regular line of Moscow princes. From that time began the accumulation of lands and power which, in the course of two centuries, gave Moscow command of a solid block of territory dominating the centre of the Russian

¹ See this *Review*, Vol. XVII, pp. 416 sqq., Vol. XIX, pp. 62 sqq., and Vol. XXIV, pp. 81 sqq.

plain and within another 200 years took it to the Arctic, the Caspian and the Pacific.

It is difficult to judge whether the early growth of the Moscow principality owed more to geographical and other external factors or to the political acumen of its rulers, who followed, from generation to generation, a well-defined programme of expansion. Thus, the first two in the line, Daniel and Yury, by acquiring Kolomna and Mozhaïsk, secured complete control of the river Moskva and the outlets it afforded both to the Oka basin in the south and towards Smolensk and the upper Dnieper on the west. Yury entered into competition with the strong princes of Tver for the prestige title of Grand Prince, which he held for some time.

Little is known, at this stage of its development, about Moscow itself, though it is clear that the prince had his residence within the fortified area, while outside, particularly towards the east, there arose the *posad* or settlement of traders and artisans. In 1237 the town suffered the first of a long series of disasters. Standing in the track of the great Tatar sweep across Russia, it was burned to the ground. A similar visitation in 1293 is recorded, and in the first years of the 14th century the Kremlin twice withstood siege by the Prince of Tver.

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Ivan Kalita (1328-1340), brother of Yury, first of the great "collectors of the Russian land," gave a sharp impetus to the growth of both principality and town. He not only secured from the Tatar Khan, in whose gift it lay, the title of grand prince, but was appointed to gather the tribute paid annually to the Khan by all the princes of the north and to punish defaulters. He persuaded the Metropolitan of All Russia to transfer his seat and the headquarters of church administration from Vlădimir to Moscow. By purchase and other means he added to his possessions a number of small principalities scattered over the area between the Oka and the Volga. Many boyars entered his service from that of other princes.

In 1339 Ivan replaced the earlier wooden walls of the Kremlin by walls of oak. He built the first stone Cathedral of the Assumption, replacing one probably of wood, and erected other churches in stone. Various categories of the prince's servants were removed from the Kremlin and settled in localities outside which later bore their names. The commercial quarter of the town developed. Moscow merchants traded through Surozh, in the Crimea, with the

Black Sea and the Mediterranean, and through Novgorod with the Baltic and northern Europe. As the inhabited area grew, the frequency of fires increased. Between 1330 and 1453 there are records of no fewer than seventeen major conflagrations. In the mid-14th century Moscow was visited by the Black Death, which claimed amongst its victims Grand Prince Simeon, two of his sons and a brother, and the Metropolitan. The population died so fast that the priests had not time to give them the last sacraments.

Under Dimitry Donskoy (1359-1389) the appearance of a new and dangerous enemy from the west, Lithuania, led to the replacement of the oak defences of the Kremlin by walls of stone, with battlements, towers, and iron gates. Firearms also were introduced.

Within the Kremlin and in the town several new churches and monasteries arose. Greek painters and Italian bell-founders were brought in.

But Dimitry's greatest service was to make the first counter-attack on the Tatars. The battle of Kulikovo (1380), though not decisive, proved that they could be beaten and greatly enhanced the prestige of the Moscow prince as national leader of all the Russians of the north. In 1382 the Tatars, taking revenge, besieged Moscow. The stone defences of the Kremlin held against a series of assaults, but the enemy gained admission by a ruse, slaughtered the defenders and the townsfolk "until their arms wearied and their swords became blunt," sacked and set fire to the town, and drove off large numbers of prisoners. When they had left, 24,000 bodies were buried.

In the reign of Dimitry's son, Vasily I, Moscow was threatened with an attack by Tamerlane, who advanced from the south to within 150 miles of the city, but then turned aside. In 1408 another siege by the Tatars was beaten off by the new firearms. In 1404 Moscow saw its first striking clock, erected by a Serb from Mount Athos. Arts and crafts flourished. Much fine work was done in precious metals, and Russian icon-painting reached its highest point in the work of Andrei Rublyov and his school. In the first half of his reign Vasily II had to meet a serious challenge for the grand principality from his uncle, Prince Yury Dimitrievich, and Moscow changed hands several times. With the strong support of the Church and the people the principle of direct succession was finally established.

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With the accession of Ivan III in 1462 the second stage in the making of the Moscow principality and its capital began. Ivan's

predecessors had steadily increased their possessions, by purchase, marriage, inheritance, and force of arms, until they covered, almost unbrokenly, the whole of central Russia. Ivan more than trebled them by disposing of Tver, Moscow's most serious rival, seizing the vast territories of Novgorod in the north, and winning back from Lithuania a large area of the "western lands" on the upper and middle Dnieper. He finally threw off the Tatar yoke, greatly widened the scope of Muscovy's external relations, and invited foreign experts to search for ores and set up metal industries.

Under the influence of his wife, Sophia Paleologue, niece of the last Eastern Emperor, Ivan began to regard himself as the head of the whole Orthodox Church. The idea of "Moscow—the Third Rome," fully developed only in the next century, now appeared. Ivan called himself "Lord of all Rus," "Autocrat," and, in correspondence with foreign rulers, "Tsar"; adopted the Byzantine double-headed eagle as his emblem; and established a code of court etiquette and ceremonial intended to widen the gap between himself and his subjects.

On Sophia's advice the old Kremlin was pulled to pieces and Italian architects were appointed to reconstruct it,—though with orders to follow Byzantine and Russian styles. Ivan had the Kremlin walls enlarged and strengthened, the three principal Cathedrals—of the Assumption, the Archangel, and the Annunciation—rebuilt on a grander scale, and a new stone palace for the reception of ambassadors and other ceremonies begun. Outside the Kremlin boyars and rich merchants built their houses of stone, but all other construction was still in wood, and the long tale of destructive fires continued.

Vasily III (1505-1533) completed the "collection" of the central lands and, following his father's policy in the west, regained Smolensk from the Lithuanians. Steeped in the Byzantine ideas brought to Moscow by his mother, he ruled autocratically and foreigners marvelled at his power. In his reign Moscow was rapidly changing from the seat of a grand prince to the capital of a Tsardom. Its population rose to 100,000. New settlements arose beyond the previous limits and extended to the south bank of the river. A foreign visitor wrote that the city was vast, but not so vast as it seemed, since the houses were spread out and surrounded by gardens. The streets in the centre were narrow and muddy, and it was unwise to traverse them after dark without a guard, for fear of being beaten and robbed. In the Kremlin, building proceeded actively and the new cathedrals were decorated by Russian artists. Vasily took up

his residence in the new stone palace. Nevertheless, Moscow was not left to develop without setbacks. Two fires did considerable damage in different quarters : while in 1521 a great host of Tatars approached and pillaged the neighbouring villages, but retired without fighting, taking with them the usual throng of prisoners.

Ivan IV was three years of age when he succeeded to the throne. The struggle for power between the leading boyar families during his minority, and the treatment he personally received from them, inspired him with a fear and hatred of the whole class which were to lead to a disastrous break later in his reign. In 1547 Ivan had himself crowned with the full ritual of the Byzantine emperors and assumed the title of Tsar.

The coronation year was marked in the history of Moscow by two great fires and a popular rising. In April a large part of Kitai Gorod, as the trading quarter was now called, burned out. Two months later the greatest conflagration the city had yet known ravaged Kitai Gorod again, spread north and east, and then, carried by a high wind to the Kremlin, destroyed palaces, churches, and monasteries. The Cathedral of the Assumption remained standing but lost its roof. About 2,000 people perished. Enemies of the Tsar's relatives, the Glinskys, spread the rumour that they had been responsible for the fire. A mob of townsfolk rushed the Kremlin and killed the Tsar's uncle, Prince Yury Glinsky. Their leaders were seized and executed.

Later in Ivan's reign Moscow suffered further great calamities. In 1565, with many other towns, it was swept by plague. In 1571 Devlet-Girei, Khan of the Crimea, approached the city and set fire to its outskirts. Many thousands of people perished in the flames and smoke, or were trodden under foot in the mad rush to escape. Piles of corpses blocked the river.

The middle years of the reign had been happier. In 1552 Moscow had given an enthusiastic welcome to the Tsar on his return from the conquest of Kazan, a success which, with the subjugation of Astrakhan, made the Volga for the first time an entirely Russian river, added to Muscovy vast areas of new land, and opened the way to Siberia. In 1558 a war, successful at first, was begun against Livonia, with the object of securing an outlet to the Baltic. Muscovy was seeking to escape from its medieval isolation. In 1553 the Tsar received with great favour Richard Chancellor, whose accidental landing near the mouth of the Dvina opened a route to the west—all the more welcome when the Baltic venture eventually failed.

The increasing power and prestige of Muscovy was reflected in the growth of its capital, in spite of all setbacks. Early in Ivan's reign the fortified area was increased by the erection of stone walls round Kitai Gorod, but the population continued to expand. In the 'eighties a great new ring of stone defences was built, enclosing the Bely Gorod; and an outer wall of wood, 24 miles long, took in a large additional area known as Zemlyanoy Gorod. Giles Fletcher, who was in Moscow as Queen Elizabeth's ambassador in 1588, wrote that it was bigger than London. The general plan, which it retains to the present day, was fully established. After his victory over Kazan, Ivan built the Cathedral of Vasily the Blessed in the Red Square,—an object of curiosity to all visitors to Moscow.

In the second half of the 16th century Russian painting continued to flourish, and the decoration of Moscow's churches provided employment for many artists. The scholarly Metropolitan Macarius compiled his great *Chetyi-Minei*, or Book of the Saints; *Domostroy* ("The Ordering of the Household"), one of the most characteristic products of Muscovite literature, was written; and the Tsar, in correspondence with the fugitive Prince Kurbsky, displayed a wealth of religious and secular learning. In 1564 the first printing-press appeared. The copyists, seeing their livelihood threatened, roused a mob to destroy it, but the Tsar had it restored.

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The accession of Ivan's son Fyodor in 1584 was accompanied by disorders fomented by supporters of his younger half-brother Dimitry, which led to Dimitry and his relatives being banished to Uglich, on the upper Volga. Fyodor was crowned in the Cathedral of the Assumption with ritual even more imposing than that used at his father's coronation. In 1589 Moscow saw another brilliant ceremony, the installation of the Metropolitan Iona in the newly created Patriarchate—a signal development in the religious life of Russia, and in the years immediately to follow an event of great political importance. During Fyodor's reign Muscovy was governed by his brother in law, Boris Gudunov, who succeeded him as Tsar in 1598.

Two years later Kazy-Girei, Khan of the Crimea, led an army of 150,000 to Moscow in an attempt to liberate Kazan and Astrakhan. The city's defences held and, though the outer suburbs were burned, the assault, the last of the long series of Tatar attacks, was beaten off.

Godunov built in the Kremlin one of the finest monuments of Muscovite architecture, the Tower of Ivan Veliky, eighty-two metres

high, and, in its final form, hung with 34 bells, weighing 260 tons. Under Godunov contacts between Muscovy and the western world became closer. Many ambassadors arrived, and the number of foreign experts, including doctors and apothecaries, increased.

In the years 1601-1603 Muscovy was stricken by a great famine. According to a foreign observer, the price of grain in the capital went up from 15 kopecks to three roubles a measure. Godunov distributed food and money to the hungry, thus attracting into the city swarms of people from the surrounding countryside, who fought and killed each other for a piece of bread and were reduced in the end to eating carrion and human flesh. The number of deaths from starvation and disease exceeded 100,000.

This dreadful visitation heralded one of the most disturbed periods in the history of the city. Godunov died in 1605 and a few months later the first of a series of pretenders, claiming to be the Tsarevich Dimitry, whose death, in circumstances never cleared up, had been reported in 1591, entered the capital and was proclaimed Tsar. In the following year he was murdered in the Kremlin and his ashes were fired from a cannon in the direction of Poland, whence he had invaded Muscovy. The new Tsar, Vasily Shuisky, was unpopular. During his short reign disorders occurred in the capital. Many parts of the country were thrown into chaos by peasant revolts. A second pretender appeared, and the Poles besieged Smolensk.

In 1610 a section of the boyars chose Wladyslaw, son of King Sigismund III of Poland, as Tsar and admitted the Poles to Moscow. This move marked the lowest point in the fortunes of Muscovy and led to a healthy reaction. Patriotic forces mobilised and marched on the capital. The Poles were gradually driven back into the Kremlin and, after a bitter struggle, forced to surrender. A national assembly elected Michael Romanov, a member of one of the leading boyar families, to the throne.

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When the new Tsar reached Moscow he found three-quarters of the city burned out. The Kremlin palaces and other buildings were roofless, without windows, floors or doors, and at first there were neither materials nor workmen to repair them. Restoration of the Kremlin, reconstruction of Kitai Gorod and Bely Gorod, and the building of a reinforced earthen rampart round the outer ring of the Zemlyanoy Gorod, in place of the existing wooden wall, occupied a considerable part of the reign. One of the Kremlin towers was

rebuilt by an Englishman named Holloway, who erected a clock on it. Holloway also provided some of the Kremlin buildings with a regular supply of water pumped from the river.

The work of restoration was interrupted in 1618 by a further Polish invasion, in support of Prince Wladislaw's claim to the throne of Muscovy by virtue of his election in 1610. A Polish force reached the outskirts of Moscow, broke into the inner city, and advanced to within a mile of the Kremlin before it was turned back. Though this was the last time the city saw a foreign invader until 1812, other major disturbances of its normal life—fires, riots, epidemics—continued with little abatement, since the causes from which they arose could not, in the conditions of the period, be eradicated. Thus, for example, a fire-brigade had been organised in the early years of Michael's reign, but it was too small and too poorly equipped to deal with anything more than a local and isolated outbreak. In 1626 a great conflagration ravaged the Kremlin and Kitai Gorod, and three years later the northern quarters of the inner city were again swept by fire.

In 1648, shortly after the accession of Alexis, rioting broke out, in protest against the greed and arbitrary conduct of the Tsar's officials, two of whom were handed over to the mob and killed. The Moscow masses rose again in 1662, when the Government's attempt to mend its finances by a fantastic manipulation of the currency had led to a steep increase of prices and great distress amongst the poor. Military force had to be used to suppress the movement. Some of its leaders were executed on the spot and several thousands of the rioters were mutilated or exiled to Siberia. The same fate overtook many who were found to have used the situation as a cover for making false money.

External changes in Moscow under Alexis were not numerous, but new buildings in the Kremlin included a palace for the Patriarch Nikon. The chapel of the Iversk Mother of God, later one of Russia's most sacred shrines, was also erected in this period.

Foreign visitors to Moscow in the mid-17th century considered that it could compare with any European capital. One account, dating from 1669, states that the city contained 95,000 houses. Visitors expressed astonishment at the number of churches (a fairly reliable source gives a figure of 943, including 128 dedicated to St. Nicholas) and at the extensive development of trade. Adam Olearius, who was in Moscow towards the close of Michael's reign, described the prosperous state of Kitai Gorod and the throng of merchants and buyers who crowded its streets from morning to

night. Each branch of trade had its shops and booths in one locality. Beyond Kitai Gorod lay an open space where barbers cut the Muscovites' hair, which lay on the ground like a thick cushion. "No one in this country," wrote a foreigner in 1653, "thinks of anything else but trade and profits"; while another visitor said that Moscow contained as many shops as Amsterdam. Crafts and industries also flourished. Foreigners prospected for iron, copper, and other ores, and set up in Moscow and elsewhere factories for the manufacture of cannon, cannon-balls, anchors, nails, sheet and strip metal, and other articles not hitherto produced in Muscovy. Alexis hired foreign officers to form the nucleus of a regular army.

The foreign colony in Moscow grew so large that in the middle of the 17th century a special quarter was assigned to it in the east of the city. Alexis and some of his boyars were greatly attracted by what they learned there of western life. Muscovites saw their Tsar riding in a German coach, with velvet cushions and glass windows. A mixed company of Germans and Russians presented plays at court, where the fashion of dining to the accompaniment of music was introduced. "The Foreign Quarter," wrote Solovyov, "was the first step from the Kremlin to St. Petersburg." Boyars and rich merchants furnished their houses with tapestries, pictures, and clocks.

The grave disquiet felt by many Muscovites at the spread of western influences was deepened by the revision of the Church books undertaken by Patriarch Nikon, with the help of scholars from Kiev. In 1654 Moscow saw the beginning of a Schism that split the religious life of the country.

In the same year the city experienced one of the worst epidemics in its troubled history. Prisoners escaped and began to rob and pillage; the Tsaritsa and her children took refuge outside Moscow; corpses lay piled in the streets and had to be buried in pits, as there were not enough coffins. Letters to the Tsar, who was leading the first campaign of a war against Poland for the Ukraine, stated that 400,000 people died in the course of the summer. This figure may have referred to the whole country, but some hint of the effect of the epidemic in the capital is given by the fact that only 16 out of 198 monks in the Chudov Monastery escaped, and only one priest remained alive at the Cathedral of the Assumption. In 1671 the Moscow crowd witnessed the execution of Stenka Razin, whose head was exposed on a stake in the Red Square for many years.

In the last quarter of the 17th century "European" costumes and the uniforms of the new army were seen more and more

frequently in the streets. The number of carriages increased. A few daring Muscovites shaved off their beards; and the smoking of tobacco, though forbidden by law and denounced by the Church (in one sermon it was coupled with Lutheran, Calvinistic, and other heresies), could not be stamped out. The Regent Sophia re-established the court theatre and is believed by some authorities to have written a play. The art of engraving became firmly established, and the cheap popular wood-cut (*Lubochnaya Kartina*) began to establish that place in the homes of the masses which it retained until the later 19th century.

In 1689 Moscow acquired its first stone bridge. Planned as far back as the reign of Michael by a Swedish engineer, it was actually constructed by a Russian monk. Like old London Bridge and many others in western Europe, it was lined on both sides by shops.

The peace of the city had been broken in 1682 by the mutiny of the *Streltsy* or palace guards, intimately linked with a rising of the schismatic Old Believers and with the struggle for power after the death of Fyodor II, which ended in the proclamation of Fyodor's brother Ivan and his half-brother Peter as joint Tsars, with their sister Sophia as Regent.

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Though Peter the Great in youth spent little time in Moscow, except for the Foreign Quarter, and passed most of his later life in travel, at war, or in St. Petersburg, his reign left a deep mark on the old capital. He introduced into it, in elementary form, some of the amenities and institutions enjoyed by cities in western Europe. His chief contribution to its architecture was the Sukharev Tower—sometimes called the cradle of the Russian fleet, because there, before the conquest of the Baltic outlet, the first Admiralty Office and the first School of Navigation were set up. In 1704 Peter decreed that all buildings in Kitai Gorod and the Kremlin should be of stone and should be aligned to the streets. Cobble paving and stone side-walks were also prescribed. (Later in the reign supplies of stone, and the labour of stonemasons, were reserved for the new capital.)

Peter improved the administration of Moscow, reorganised the primitive fire-brigade and police force, introduced some sanitary precautions, and founded almshouses to take beggars off the streets and foundling homes for unwanted children. He set up the first military hospital and medical school and laid out a botanical or

apothecary garden. His care for the economic development of Russia was reflected in Moscow by the establishment of factories producing woollen cloth for the army, sail-cloth for the fleet, linen, silk, sugar, paper, and other commodities.

When he returned from western Europe Peter decided to reform the social life of his people and turn Russian boyars and gentry and their wives into European gentlemen and ladies. The shaving of beards and the wearing of "European" costume, which had appeared in the 17th century, were now made compulsory. Shops were opened for the sale of the prescribed garments, also of tobacco, soon to become a valuable source of revenue. Peter had books on etiquette translated. The "assemblies" he compelled his subjects to attend gave them opportunities for exercising their new manners, and brought Russian women from the seclusion of the *terem* into the salon and the ballroom. Muscovites learned to count time from the birth of Christ, not from the beginning of the world, and the year from January 1, instead of September 1. They were instructed to wish each other "A Happy New Year" and to put up decorations. Moscow hailed the 18th century with a salute of 200 guns.

The first Russian newspaper appeared in 1703, with a circulation of 1,000 copies. Much of it was written by the Tsar, who also corrected the proofs. Peter set up in the Red Square the first theatre to which the public had access.

With the lapsing of the Patriarchate in 1700 and the departure of the Court to the new capital, the people of Moscow were robbed of many of the imposing religious and court ceremonies they had been accustomed to witness through the centuries; but they saw triumphal processions after the capture of Azov in 1696 and the battle of Poltava in 1709. On the latter occasion the Tsar entered the city at the head of his guards and army, with five thousand Swedish prisoners, including a Field-marshal and a Minister. Seven triumphal arches, adorned with emblems and allegorical pictures, were erected; bands played and choirs sang, and the celebrations lasted a fortnight. Similar festivities took place in 1722, on the conclusion of the Northern War, and two years later, when Peter had his wife Catherine crowned Empress. The normal life of Moscow was disturbed also by sterner events. In 1698 the Tsar had a thousand mutinous *Streltsy* publicly executed in the Red Square and beheaded 200 of them himself. There were two serious fires in his reign. In 1708 Charles XII of Sweden gave the city a bad scare by advancing straight towards it at a time when there was little in the way to stop him. But he suddenly turned south with the

intention of wintering in the Ukraine, and Moscow breathed again.

When Peter's strong hand was removed, opposition to his work and the changes it had involved in Russian life at last had a chance to express itself, and the question of transferring the capital back to Moscow was raised. There was little danger of this happening under Catherine I, his widow, and the rule of Menshikov; but if the young Emperor Peter II (1727-1730) had survived it would probably have come about, for he hated the sea and spent most of his short reign hunting in the neighbourhood of Moscow. The Empress Anne went from Kurland straight to the old capital and there tore up the conditions imposed on her in return for election to the throne. Anne lived in Moscow for two years and later several times expressed the intention of returning to it. An improvement in Moscow life introduced in her reign was the lighting of the principal streets. In 1737 the city was swept by the "farthing candle" fire, which destroyed 102 churches, eleven monasteries, four palaces, and 2,527 dwelling-houses.

Elizabeth, who was born in Moscow and spent most of her life there up to her accession, felt greatly attached to the city and visited it for long periods. She had the dilapidated palaces and churches in the Kremlin restored and commissioned Rastrelli to erect another large palace; but she held her court at a small residence in the suburb of Lefortovo, where an opera house and conservatories were built. Amid the distractions of balls, dinners, and masquerades Elizabeth found time occasionally to attend to more serious matters, and on the recommendation of Ivan Shuvalov, gave her approval to a plan drawn up by Lomonosov for founding a university.

Moscow University, the first in Russia, was formally opened on 12 (24) January, 1755, the day of St. Tatyana, who became the patron saint of its students. Located at first near the Iversk Gates, it was removed in 1759 to the Mokhovaya, where later Catherine II provided it with an additional building (the "New University"). Two schools preparing pupils for the University were opened. The University was allowed to maintain a printing-press and publish a news-sheet, the *Moscow Gazette*, of which only 600 copies were sold until it was taken over, with the press, by Novikov, who raised it to a circulation of 4,000—very large for that time. Novikov also issued Masonic literature and, in connection with his educational schemes, large quantities of cheap reading matter.

Outside the Kremlin only one important architectural feature of Moscow, the "Red Gates" (*Krasniye Vorota*, now destroyed),

dates from Elizabeth's reign ; but much restoration and reconstruction work was done—all in the Baroque style, which left a distinct mark on the city during its brief rule.

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Changes in the external aspect of Moscow under Catherine II were more sweeping than in any other similar period of its history ; though her most ambitious scheme failed, fortunately for Moscow and for Russia. Soon after her accession she instructed Bazhenov, a Russian pupil of Rastrelli, to design a building covering the whole of the Kremlin and accommodating all government offices and educational establishments in the city. Lack of funds and the distractions of affairs elsewhere thrust the plan into the archives. The most important measure of reconstruction actually carried out was the razing of the walls around Bely Gorod and Zemlyanoy Gorod, which, anticipating Haussmann, Catherine had replaced by boulevards. Householders on the outer ring were ordered to lay out gardens—hence its name of *Sadovaya*. A second improvement on a similar scale was the provision of a water-supply, which brought to the city pure spring water from the village of Mytishchy, now one of its northern suburbs. The Mytishchy system sufficed for the whole of Moscow until the last quarter of the 19th century. Under Catherine canals were constructed to regulate the flow of the river Moskva, and its tributary, the Neglinnaya, which flows along the north-western wall of the Kremlin, was enclosed in pipes and made into a main drain.

Catherine, who introduced vaccination to her subjects, built two hospitals in Moscow and, on plans put before her by her educational adviser, Betsky, established an enormous Foundling Home. In 1754 she set up the Gentry School (*Blagorodny Pansion*), where Zhukovsky, Griboyedov, Prince Odoevsky, Alexander Turgenev, Baratynsky, and other prominent writers of the early 19th century received their education.

Many of Catherine's "grandees" built fine houses in Moscow, surrounded by large parks and gardens, and maintained by swarms of domestic serfs. The gentry, too, replaced their modest wooden or stone homes by more pretentious and expensive residences. The famous *Podmoskovniye*, the suburban ring of magnificently planned and luxuriously furnished palaces belonging to the wealthier aristocracy—Ostankino, Kuskovo, Kuzminki, Arkhangelskoye, Bratsevo, Znamenskoye—also belong mainly to the last quarter of the 18th century, the "Grand Age" of the Classical style in architecture and internal decoration.

For the majority of the people of Moscow living conditions were little better than they had been for centuries past. Crowded together in small, squalid, insanitary huts and hovels, they were a ready prey for disease. In the great plague that struck the city in 1771 the inhabitants of one house in every four died. In a letter to Grimm, Catherine gave the total number of victims as 100,000. During the epidemic an excited and ignorant mob murdered Archbishop Ambrose for forbidding the kissing of ikons, and would have killed all the doctors if the authorities had not taken the drastic step of using cannon to quell the rioting.

In the last quarter of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century Moscow was pre-eminently the "gentry capital" (*Karamzin*), with an atmosphere of its own, distinct from that of the official capital in the north, where society revolved round the Court and the higher bureaucracy. Freed from compulsory service, the landowning class flocked to Moscow and there built up a social life—portrayed, from the recollections of contemporaries, by Tolstoy in *War and Peace*—the principal elements of which were balls, parties, and theatre-going, dinners, gambling, and political discussions at the "Anglisky Klub," promenading on the Kuznetsky Most and the new boulevards.

The first decade of the 19th century enriched Moscow with more fine buildings in the Classical tradition, mainly educational and charitable in purpose. Count and Countess Sheremetev opened a large hospital in their magnificent palace near the Sukharev Tower. The University, which had not made great headway under Catherine, owing to lack of funds and of Russian professors (teaching was for a long time by foreigners, and in Latin), received a new charter and large private benefactions.

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Moscow was not greatly perturbed at first by the news of Napoleon's invasion of Russia in June 1812. Count Rostopchin, commander-in-chief and Governor-General of the city, mobilised 15,000 carts and began to evacuate valuable state and church property, but at the same time issued optimistic and flamboyantly patriotic manifestoes minimising the danger to the city. When the Emperor visited Moscow in July the gentry half-ruined themselves by subscribing three million roubles towards the cost of the war and the merchants contributed ten millions. Thousands of volunteers enrolled in the militia (*opolchenie*). Long columns of troops, including Kalmyk and Kirgiz horsemen, were enthusiastically

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cheered as they passed through the city. Society ladies prepared bandages for the wounded, who soon began to arrive in large convoys.

In August came the fall of Smolensk, always regarded as the gate to Moscow. Kutuzov's appointment as commander-in-chief did not check the retreat. Many families began to leave the city, but the majority of the people still trusted Rostopchin, who declared up to the last that Napoleon would be stopped in a great battle. There was no battle. In order to save his army Kutuzov abandoned Moscow, and evacuation became general. The French entered on September 14 to find the city almost empty and aflame, set on fire, the official histories say, by its patriotic inhabitants. Napoleon's depression on seeing the fire is described by Ségur, and writing at St. Helena he himself referred to the scene as "the most grandiose, amazing, and dreadful it was ever my lot to see." The French troops began pillaging private houses and churches and lost all semblance of discipline. Napoleon made peace overtures, without success. The retreat began on the night 6/7 October and on 10 October the last French forces left. A few hours later great explosions blew five gaps in the Kremlin walls and destroyed or damaged many important buildings. Mines placed in the three Cathedrals failed to act. When the inhabitants began to trickle back into the city they found three-quarters of the houses and nearly half the churches burned out. Twelve thousand bodies and more than that number of dead horses lay about in the streets.

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The ashes of Moscow were hardly cool before stonemasons, carpenters, plasterers, and other building workers set to the task of restoration. In December the *Moscow Gazette* wrote that trade and industry were reviving and that the markets were full of buyers and sellers. The Emperor took the Kremlin under his own care. When King Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia visited Moscow in 1818 he expressed astonishment at its phoenix-like revival. The work in hand was not all restoration. Important buildings of the post-1812 period which did not replace others destroyed by the fire included the Manège, erected, as an exercise-place for troops in bad weather, in the form of a Greek temple, 550 feet long and 150 feet wide, with a single unsupported roof-span. The Bolshoy Theatre, as well known to modern visitors to Moscow as the Manège, was built in 1824, though it had to be reconstructed later after a fire.

In 1817 the foundations were laid, on the Sparrow Hills, overlooking Moscow, of a grandiose cathedral of Classical design,

dedicated to Christ the Saviour, as a memorial to those who had fallen in the war of 1812-1814 and a thank-offering for victory. The project was later abandoned, after four million roubles had been spent on it, owing to the unsuitability of the terrain. Nicholas I took it up again, and built the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour which occupied a dominating site on the river Moskva, west of the Kremlin, until it was destroyed after the Revolution. This cathedral was Russo-Byzantine in style, and marked the beginning of a trend towards nationalism, expressed also in another imposing structure of Nicholas's reign, the Great Kremlin Palace.

Moscow society of the 1820's and 1830's, like that of the first decade of the century, has its brilliant literary reflection, Griboyedov's play, *Gore ot uma* ("The Mischief of Being Clever"). The Moscow of Famusov was threatened not only by the Chatskys, representatives of a younger generation, with a broader education, a more progressive outlook, and a greater sense of responsibility to their country. It was beginning to see the rise of an industrial and commercial bourgeoisie. During the reign of Nicholas I (1825-1855) manufactures, particularly cotton, took a sharp upward swing. A new moneyed class appeared, with new tastes and standards, and growingly antagonistic to serfdom, the very foundation of gentry society. In 1851 Moscow was joined to St. Petersburg by a railway, the first in Russia, with the exception of a short line from the capital to Tsarskoe Selo.

The reign of Nicholas I, dark as the political atmosphere became in its later years, was a notable period in the history of Russian culture, in which Moscow maintained the lead. The University, recovered from the physical damage it suffered in 1812, had Pogodin and Shevryyov, Solovyov, Granovsky, and Buslaev amongst its professors. From the famous "Stankevich circle" of the 1830's came the leaders of the most varied trends of political thought in the middle years of the century, Constantine Aksakov, Belinsky, Katkov, Herzen, and Bakunin. The literary world of Moscow in the second quarter of the century included, at various times, Pushkin, Batyushkov, and Prince Vyazemsky, Chaadayev, Sergei Aksakov, Gogol, and Turgenev. Moscow theatre-goers saw a great generation of Russian actors, Mochalov and Karatygin, Shchepkin, Sadovsky, and Shumsky.

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Soon after his accession in 1855 Alexander I publicly stated in Moscow that the time had come to liberate the serfs. The emancipa-

tion law, issued in 1861, set in motion forces which were to change the whole social and economic structure of Russia, and with it, that of Moscow. Industry began to develop more rapidly. New railways struck out in all directions. Many thousands of freed peasants streamed into the city seeking employment. The population had risen slowly in the preceding reign, reaching 360,000 by 1861. Ten years later it stood at 602,000, and by 1882 at 753,000. The city could not grow quickly enough. Housing conditions for the majority were wretched. In 1882 10% of the inhabitants lived in cellars. There were over 10,000 apartments with more than four persons per room, and infant mortality reached an appalling height. The municipal administration set up in 1870 was faced by a vast complex of problems.

At the other end of the social scale the change in balance which had begun in the preceding reign proceeded rapidly. Moscow ceased to be the "gentry capital." Many landowners went off to the country to run their estates on an economic basis with free hired labour. Others sold the land left to them after the emancipation and entered government service, the newly created local councils (*zemstvos*), the growing professional classes, or trade and industry. The place of the gentry as the leading social element in the city was taken by the "new-rich."

To meet the changing needs of the city's life many new educational institutions, including a technical school and the Petrovskoye Agricultural Academy, were opened in the third quarter of the century. The "real" or modern secondary school appeared. In 1861 the Rumyantsev Museum and library, and later the Polytechnic and Historical Museums were founded.

The trend towards nationalism, noticeable already in the reign of Nicholas I, made rapid progress in that of Alexander II, widening the gap between Moscow and the more cosmopolitan St. Petersburg. Moscow reacted indignantly to the Polish rebellion of 1863 and the attempt of the western powers to intervene on behalf of the Poles. In the 1870's it espoused the cause of the Slav subjects of the Sultan. Large sums of money were subscribed in aid of the Serbs and Montenegrins and many volunteers went to join them in their revolt against the Turks. The Russian declaration of war on Turkey in 1877 roused wild enthusiasm. Nationalism spread to architecture, and many of the new buildings of the period embodied a Neo-Russian style, which attempted, with no marked success, to reproduce in brick, and on a large scale, forms and ornament developed for the relatively small wooden structures of the medieval period.

Nationalism reached its peak in the reign of Alexander III (1881-1894). An exhibition of Russian arts and industries was held in Moscow in 1882. Russian opera and the plays of Ostrovsky ousted Italian opera and translated foreign drama from the Bolshoy and Maly theatres. In 1892 the brothers Tretyakov handed over to the city their magnificent collections of Russian art, and the Russian element in other galleries was strengthened. The Neo-Russian style of architecture was applied to a further group of important new buildings, including the City Council offices and the Commercial Rows on the Red Square. It reached its lowest point in the monument to Alexander II erected in the Kremlin.

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By the end of the 19th century Moscow had become the greatest industrial centre of the Russian Empire, with a total annual production of 200 million roubles. Ten radial railways transported to or from the city 14 million tons of goods and six million passengers a year. Moscow manufactured half the textiles produced in Russia and a large proportion of the vodka, sugar, tobacco, chemicals, leather, and articles of wood. The population, 1,174,000 in 1902, increased by 1913 to 1,700,000. Only one-quarter of the 1902 population were natives of the city, three-quarters were within the working ages of 15 to 60, and there were 100 males to every 75 females, figures stressing the fact that the influx was one of male workers for industry.

In the inner ring Moscow was beginning to assume the aspect of a great European city. Here and there, in the first years of the present century, large office buildings appeared. Many old houses in the residential quarters gave way to blocks of flats. For the rest, Moscow remained to a large extent the "big village" it had been throughout its history. Twelve thousand out of a total of 19,000 inhabited buildings were of wood. On the outskirts, where most of the factories were built, a large proportion of the industrial workers died in factory barracks or small squalid houses.

The City Council, restricted in its resources by a Government jealous of public initiative, spent in 1904 little more than £1 per head of the population. In the centre the main streets were paved, but elsewhere most of them were cobbled, or, on the outer fringes, merely muddy tracks. A proper drainage system and an improved water-supply had been completed for the inner quarters of the city in the last years of the 19th century, but farther from the centre conditions deteriorated rapidly. A few areas were lighted by electricity, the greater part of the city by oil-lamps. Electric

tramways appeared, however, little later than they did in western Europe. The City Council maintained 800 primary schools, most of which provided only a four-year course.

Other educational facilities, not dependent on the municipal budget, were provided on a higher scale. Secondary schools, numbering 85, had 31,000 pupils. The University, with nearly 6,000 students, enjoyed a high reputation in Europe as a seat of learning. There were six other higher educational institutions. Moscow had 47 learned societies.

The evolution in the social and economic life of the city strongly affected its political complexion. It became a strong centre of opposition to the Tsarist-bureaucratic regime. The professional and middle classes furnished the leaders of constitutional movements, and the majority of the city members in each of the four Imperial Dumas were liberals. The existence of a large industrial proletariat, poorly paid, working long hours, and prevented from organising legally in defence of its interests, favoured the spread of revolutionary ideas. Some of the earliest "underground" labour organisations in Russia arose in Moscow. Strikes, though prohibited, occurred with increasing frequency in the later 1890's, and had become almost endemic by 1905. At the end of that year the city was the scene of a great armed rising.

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Such was Moscow in the early years of the 20th century. Its more recent history is within living memory, and is in any case too inseparably entangled with the vast changes that have overtaken Russia to be dealt with on the same scale as the preceding centuries.

Moscow emerged from six years of war, revolution, and civil strife only a shadow of its former self. Though physically it suffered comparatively little (there had been sharp fighting, but of a local character, before the red flag was unfurled over the Kremlin in November 1917) its life and machinery had run down. Population declined to 800,000, industrial production and transport almost ceased, there was little fuel or food, and schools had to close. Although Moscow became the capital again in March 1918, recovery was slow at first, for similar conditions ruled throughout the country, and about a decade passed before levels comparable with those of 1913 were reached again. After the introduction of the Five-year Plans in the late 1920's economic, social, and cultural life developed with ever-increasing speed.

Total production rose in value by 1939 to over twenty times that of 1913. Though the old branches of industry, textiles, leather,

food, and clothing, far exceeded their best previous figures, Moscow became pre-eminently an engineering centre, with heavy machines of all kinds, electrical equipment, motor vehicles, and instruments as its main products. Railway and water communications handled ten times as much traffic as before the Revolution, and had been extended by the construction of the Volga-Moscow canal.

Equally revolutionary changes took place in the aspect of the city and its municipal economy. The vital problem of housing, aggravated by the increase of the population to over four millions and by the great demand on accommodation from government institutions, was not solved, but much progress had been made in building new residential areas. In the centre of the city new blocks of offices appeared. Streets were widened and paved, old bridges reconstructed and new ones built, and the banks of the river Moskva faced in granite. The transport problem was dealt with by extensions of the tramway system, the introduction of trolley-bus and omnibus services, and the construction of an underground railway. Education and health services of all kinds received rapidly increasing assignments in the city budget.

Moscow was the scientific and cultural centre of the whole U.S.S.R., with a vast network of teaching and research institutions, and much of its activity in these fields was becoming well known abroad. The outside world thought of it, however, primarily as the political centre, the seat of the Soviet Government, of the Communist Party and the Comintern.

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The progress of Moscow was thrown back several years by the outbreak of war in 1941. But war also called forth a mighty spirit of effort and resistance. The city plunged into the struggle, camouflaged itself, adopted a black-out, organised A.R.P., worked day and night in factories and works turned over to the production of war equipment. In the crucial days of the German "March on Moscow" and the great battle fought almost on its outskirts, when the fate not only of the capital but of the whole U.S.S.R. lay in the balance, the Moscow population mobilised itself for trench-digging and other services in the immediate rear of the defending troops.

Many difficulties arose in the later course of the war, shortages of food, fuel, clothing, and other necessities, but Moscow won through to victory and peace. Now it has set itself the great task of recovering the lost ground and pressing forward towards even greater achievements. On the way it will pause for a moment to glance back at the chequered eight centuries of its past.

G. A. BIRKETT.